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ABSTRACT

The public controversy which developed between 1896 and 1920 in the Canadian prairie provinces over the question of immigration is examined in this paper. It is shown that although many of the social, political, religious and cultural characteristics which have differentiated the prairies have been a result of ethnic diversity, the predominantly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant population which pioneered the prairies was initially resistent to many immigrant groups. The non-restrictive immigration policy, developed by Minister of the Interior Sifton to stimulate agricultural and economic growth of the region, and its social, political, and economic effects are considered in detail. Acceptance or rejection of various groups (Asians, Central and Eastern Europeans, Blacks) and their subsequent assimilation processes (particularly with regard to language) are explained. The issues of racism, social reform, feminism, radicalism, prohibition and naturalization are described in light of the changing social situation and the prevailing political and intellectual currents. Attitudes towards assimilation and immigration legislation are detailed for each ethnic group and, finally, effects of the immigration process on various groups up to 1970 are summarized. (WI)

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W.A.S.P.S AND OTHERS:

THE IMMIGRATION DEBATE ON THE PRAIRIES

1896-1920

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Introduction

One of the most important factors which has distinguished the prairies from the rest of Canada throughout the twentieth century has been the region's unique ethnic composition. While the Maritimes and Ontario have been made up almost entirely of people of British origin, with significant pockets of French Canadians, the settlement of the prairies at the turn of the century brought people from around the globe to western Canada. In the transition period between 1870 and 1890, the prairies' ethnic composition had begun to resemble Ontario and the Maritimes, as a flood of English-speaking people from eastern Canada by far surpassed the number of French or native people. But by 1921, as a result of Canada's immigration policy and world population movements, the prairies formed a distinct region. By 1921, 34 per cent of the population of Manitoba, 40 per cent of Saskatchewan, and 33 per cent of Alberta were of neither British, French, nor native origin. Through natural increase and immigration, their proportion in the population would steadily rise to roughly 50 per cent in each province by 1971. The West would inevitably be a different type of society from other Canadian regions because its people were different.

The merging of peoples from across the globe to form a new society has been an exciting experiment. They came from many lands for many reasons--some were fleeing economic privation, others religious and political persecution, and hoping for a new start in a new land. Some came hoping to forget the old world and become "new men." Some came hoping that Canada would be the country which would allow them to preserve their religious and cultural traditions. They all faced

a common task of pioneering a new land.

Many of the social, political, religious, and cultural characteristics which have differentiated the prairies from other Canadian regions have been in large part the result of the impact of this diversity. Western development has not been simply a matter of the "contributions" of different groups to the cultural and social life of the prairies or the maintenance by particular immigrant groups of their cultural or religious traditions. The impact of immigration has been much more subtle and pervasive than that.

The expectations, values, and beliefs which immigrants brought with them would inevitably influence political development on the prairies. Immigrants from around the world, including large numbers from Great Britain and the United States, came without traditional ties to the two major Canadian parties and without an awareness of the old debates which had characterized Canadian politics. They had their own political beliefs and high expectations for the future. This potent combination would play an important role in the entire range of political experimentation, radicalism, and alienation which has characterized western Canada throughout the first half of the twentieth century--in the farmers' protest movements, in organized labor and radical political movements (like the I.W.W. and O.B.U.)., and in the C.C.F. and Social Credit.

One could look at many other aspects of prairie life, which have been part of its uniqueness as a region, to show the impact of immigration and ethnic pluralism. The fact that the prairies have been the setting for more religious diversity than any other part of the country,

and that sectarian groups have had a greater impact on the prairies than elsewhere is also intimately tied to immigration. The remarkable literary productivity on the prairies is also due in part to the impact of immigration--partly because of the great diversity of backgrounds and experience which writers brought to their writing, and partly because of the creativity which seems to flourish in areas where many cultures mingle.

The purpose of this paper is not, however, to deal with the overall impact of immigration on prairie society. Rather, it will trace the debate over immigration and the role of ethnic groups in prairie society which took place at the time of the major immigration boom from 1896-1914 and during the First World War. It was at this time that the basic ethnic compositions, settlement patterns, and class structures of the prairies were established. This was also the time when ethnic conflict was most intense, as groups attempted to sort out and establish relationships, and it was the formative period for the development of ethnic stereotypes--stereotypes which have in some cases persisted to the present day.

The issue of immigration was the crucible in which prairie people attempted to define the type of society they desired. In the period between 1896 and 1920 the Anglo-Saxon elite who controlled the economic, political, legal, and educational institutions of the prairies would endlessly debate the issue of immigration. In doing so they were forced to wrestle with the question of what type of society they wanted to see develop on the prairies. Were the values and institutions of prairies society fixed on an Ontario model? Or would a unique

prairie culture emerge through the mingling of different cultures? The idea that the cultural diversity of the prairies might in itself be the essence of prairie identity did not even occur to opinion leaders of the day. The elite's view of the desirable society was not always in accordance with that of new immigrant groups and inevitably conflicts arose, particularly over the nature of the school system which was the primary means of socializing the next generation.

The school system was not the only focal point of debate over the question of ethnic diversity. Three social movements which achieved their first and greatest success in Canada on the prairies provinces--feminism, prohibition, and the social gospel--all paid considerable attention to the impact of the immigrant on prairie society. Perhaps it was not only the social fluidity of the frontier or the responsiveness of prairie governments to political pressure which led to the initial successes of these "progressive" movements on the prairie. One of the purposes of this paper will be to suggest ways in which immigration and ethnic diversity played a motivating role in these movements.

The paper will explore, then, the contours of the public controversy which developed on the prairies between 1896 and 1920 over the question of immigration and suggest how this controversy was influenced by changing economic, political, social, and intellectual currents. For example, how have the ethnic minorities themselves--their cultural backgrounds, their settlement patterns, and their proportionate numbers within the population as a whole--affected public opinion? What

was the impact of major catastrophic events such as the Great War and key events like the Winnipeg General Strike on attitudes toward ethnic minorities? How were prevailing notions about race translated into public opinion and policy? How did the groups which were most affected by negative attitudes and discriminatory legislation--the Germans, Ukrainians, Mennonites, and Doukhobors--respond to the treatment which they received? Finally, to what extent did attitudes and policies which developed between 1896 and 1920 influence later perceptions of ethnic minorities, and how do attitudes today compare with the views which existed at that time?

I

The framework within which the debate over immigration to western Canada was conducted after 1896 was established by the immigration policy of Laurier's minister of the interior, Clifford Sifton. Although world and Canadian economic factors were central to the upsurge of immigration to western Canada which occurred after 1896, Sifton's active promotion of immigration was also important in initiating the flood of immigrants who came to western Canada between 1896 and the First World War. In debating the question of immigration, then, westerners were responding to the policy for which Sifton was responsible. Two of the immigrant groups which were to arouse the most hostility on the prairies--the Ukrainians and the Doukhobors--arrived during his tenure as minister of the interior.

Sifton was dedicated to the task of peopling the Canadian West. His policy was guided by the same economic and nationalistic

motives which had inspired Macdonald's National Policy: immigration to western Canada would have to be encouraged to establish a market for eastern manufactured goods and to secure the West for Canada. A larger number of settlers would bring a higher standard of living through increased economic activity and a wider tax base. These motives were shared by entrepreneurs and newspapers in western Canada whose main purpose was to call into being the population they aimed to serve.[1] Sifton prepared the way for settlement by altering the land grant system through which speculators and colonization companies had tied up much of the best land, by simplifying the process of securing homesteads, and by streamlining an organization to administer his policy.[2] The immigration promotion campaign which was already in operation was given impetus in Europe and the U.S., and the government gave bonuses to steamship companies and agents who secured immigrants.

The immigration policy as developed by Sifton was clearly that of attracting agricultural immigrants, whatever their nationality. Sifton believed that industrious, self-sufficient farmers and peasants who could endure the social isolation of the pioneering process were the most desirable settlers. Sifton's preference for agricultural immigrants was of course based on his concern with establishing the basis of an agricultural economy in western Canada but it was also tied up with a nostalgia for rural life and the fear of the development of immigrant slums in cities.[3]

Sifton recognized that Anglo-Canadians on the prairies would prefer to settle the West with basically the same types of people who

predominated on the prairies in 1896--people from Ontario, Great Britain, and northwest Europe. But in view of the limited number of agriculturalists available in Great Britain, the restrictive emigration laws in Germany, and the small numbers of immigrants available in Scandinavia,[4] Sifton decided to pursue the question of securing immigrants in central and eastern Europe. This decision was to significantly change the ethnic make-up of the prairies and touch off a heated debate over the merits of these immigrants which would not only continue unabated until the First World War, but would gain added momentum with the outbreak of a war which called into question the loyalties of these new immigrants.

White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, mostly from Ontario, the Maritimes, and Britain, had almost exclusive control of the political, legal, cultural, and educational institutions of the three prairie provinces between 1896 and 1920,[5] and they set the parameters and conducted the public debate over immigration. The eastern Canadian and British elite had much in common in their cultural backgrounds. Most eastern Canadians had grown up in a period when the British Empire was rising to its ascendancy. They read about and gloried in the exploits of the British Empire, and believed in loyalty to God, King, and country. They had been taught to believe that the Anglo-Saxon peoples and British principles of government were the apex of both biological evolution and human achievement, and they believed that Canada's greatness was due in large part to its Anglo-Saxon heritage.[6] Given these assumptions, there was a high degree of consensus among opinion leaders on the relative desirability of different ethnic

groups. Groups' desirability to Canada as potential immigrants varied almost directly with their physical and cultural distance from London, England, and the degree to which their skin pigmentation conformed to Anglo-celtic white.

In assessing the reaction of prairie people to new groups of immigrants, it is virtually impossible to disentangle the gut level negative reaction to different peoples or ethnocentrism from the rather murky area of racist thinking. Certainly racism was on the rise in the late nineteenth century as Darwinism combined with anthropology to produce an array of schemas about the biological and social evolution of man. The school of Social Darwinism which grew out of the writings of the English intellectual and close associate of Darwin, Herbert Spencer, contributed to the growing current of anthropological thought which argued that biology determined cultural capability.

In their judgments of different groups, some prairie WASPs drew upon the Spencerian emphasis on racial characteristics and upon notions of the superiority of Anglo Saxons to judge potential immigrants on the basis of their "racial" background. But their ideas on these questions were seldom clearly thought out.[7] Notions of racial superiority and cultural superiority were hopelessly confused. Consequently, we will never know what the relative mix of ethnocentrism and racism was in prairie dwellers' reactions to various groups.

The western Canadian WASP elite regarded British and American immigrants as the most desirable potential new settlers. The British, who comprised the largest group of immigrants to Canada at this time, were considered the most desirable because of the similarity of their

cultural background. British immigrants came from virtually every stratum of British society and found their way into almost all fields of endeavour in prairie life; however, most were concentrated in the urban areas. Because of the similarity of their cultural background, they hardly seemed to be "immigrants" in the usual sense. They were not tagged with opprobrious names and there was no pressure on them to conform to a Canadian norm. In fact the more wealthy British were often regarded as models for upper-middle class Canadians who were proud of British traditions and looked to England for standards of taste.[8]

Americans were also regarded as highly desirable immigrants. Almost all sections of the population, including journalists, government officials, businessmen and agriculturalists, welcomed the large influx of Americans (most of whom were tenant farmers from the mid-west) who came to the prairies between 1898 and 1914.[9] Government officials regarded these settlers as ideal since they brought farm skills, capital and machinery which would enable them to farm successfully in western Canada. Liberal and Conservative Ministers of the Interior between 1896 and 1920, all of whom were westerners, encouraged immigration from the United States.[10] Immigration officials and the RNWMP spoke glowingly of the Americans.[11] Prairie WASPs were not only pleased by the boost which these settlers gave to the economic development of the country but they also realized that the Americans could help them to establish schools, churches, community and political institutions which they both regarded as essential to "civilized" life.[12] While some eastern newspapers and intellectuals

and some members of the British-dominated ranching community in southern Alberta expressed fears that the West would be Americanized,[13] the only western Canadian politician to express a similar view was R. B. Bennett and he was soundly denounced by the western press for his views.[14]

Germans and Scandinavians who arrived in western Canada in increasing numbers after 1896 were considered to be among Canada's best citizens since they were regarded as industrious, culturally and racially similar, and thus readily assimilable.[15] People of German and Scandinavian origin, with the exception of the Hutterites and Mennonites, did in fact assimilate fairly quickly. Assimilation of Germans and Scandinavians was facilitated by the great diversity within each group and by their wide dispersal across the central part of the prairies. The majority of German origin immigrants were part of the German-speaking minorities of eastern Europe who were seeking escape from the problems of scarce land and rising eastern European natioanlism. Germans from Germany itself were a distinct minority in western Canada. Among the Scandinavians, the largest group was the Norwegians followed by the Swedes, Danes and Icelanders. Many of the Germans and Scandinavians came to Canada via the mid-western United States where they had acquired agricultural skills which helped them adapt to the Canadian prairie. The Germans and Scandinavians who had come to western Canada before 1896 had also helped to clear the path for later arrivals. Although people of German and Scandinavian origin came to form the largest non-British minorities in Saskatchewan and Alberta,[16] there was virtually no negative comment on either group until the

Great War, when attitudes toward the Germans changed dramatically.

The Germans and Scandinavians were followed in the ethnic pecking order by central and eastern Europeans. Since they were the focal point of the debate over immigration on the prairies, the reaction to their coming deserves separate and extended treatment. In the eyes of Clifford Sifton, immigration agents, and some members of the public, the Slavs had a slight edge on Jews and southern Europeans because they were more inclined to choose the agricultural way of life. Last were the non-whites who were thought to be racially inferior, culturally unassimilable, and morally threatening.

The question of Asian immigration was not, however, a significant one on the prairies because of the relatively few Chinese or Japanese who settled there. Where it did arise (particularly in Alberta, which attracted the largest number of Orientals because of its proximity to British Columbia), the attitudes which were expressed were virtually indistinguishable from the anti-Asian stereotypes which had developed in British Columbia.[17] The economic arguments which were advanced against the Asians were not heard as frequently in Alberta, but all the cultural objections which had been raised against the Asians in British Columbia were echoed in Alberta.

A debate over black immigration did not develop as a major issue on the prairies because so few black immigrants came to that region. In 1911, however, a number of American blacks were turned back at the border by immigration officials because they allegedly could not adapt to the cold winters in Canada--a curious reversal for a department which was reassuring other American immigrants that Canadian

winters were relatively mild.[18] The Immigration Department introduced regulations to discourage the entry of blacks when faced with a deluge of anti-black sentiment from across the prairies. Boards of Trade, women's organizations, and newspaper editors throughout western Canada vehemently warned the government that western Canada would be importing the same racial problems which existed in the American south. Frank Oliver, then Minister of the Interior, was particularly susceptible to public pressure on this question since many of the blacks intended to take up farms in his home riding of Edmonton, and the most vociferous expressions of anti-black sentiment came from groups in the Edmonton area.

II

Central and Eastern Europeans were regarded as preferable to non-whites by most prairie people, but the debate over their immigration and their place in prairie society was much more sustained than the debate over non-white immigration since they came in much greater numbers over a longer period of time. There had been some debate during the 1880s over the arrival of Russian Jews who came to western Canada fleeing pogroms, and about Hungarians who came from mining areas in Pennsylvania to seek a better life. There was some feeling on the prairies that Jews were not particularly desirable immigrants because they would not make good farmers,[19] and the Hungarians who went into mining in the Lethbridge coal fields were regarded as an unruly, drunken, and violent lot.[20] But both the Hungarians and Jews were too few in number and too scattered to attract much more than occasional comment in the press or government reports. This

relative lack of concern was to change considerably with the influx of large numbers of central and eastern Europeans after 1896.

Central and eastern European immigrants comprised nearly one-third of Canada's immigration between 1897 and 1900, and by 1911 they formed approximately 17 per cent of the prairie population.[21] Their immigration to the prairies generated almost as much debate and controversy as did Asian immigration to British Columbia.

Although opposition to Slavic immigrants from prairie people never reached the point that the government thought it necessary to virtually cut off their immigration, as it did with Asian immigration, the concern over what role they should play in prairie society was one which occupied nearly all the major opinion leaders on the prairies particularly newspapers editors, educators, clergymen, and politicians. Slavs were not prohibited from voting as Asians were in British Columbia, but there was widespread sentiment that it was too easy for them to obtain their naturalization, and measures were eventually implemented during the First World War to restrict their franchise. Not only were their cultural practices, religion, and language distinctive from those of the dominant WASPs, but also their poverty and illiteracy aroused widespread concern about their moral and political impact on prairie society.

The issues in the Asian and Slavic immigration debates were not always parallel, however. Unlike the Asian immigration debate, the question of undercutting Anglo-Saxon workers did not become a major concern of organized labor on the prairies since most of the new immigrants went to the land, and those who did work in the cities, the

railways, or the mines usually did work that Anglo-Saxon workers did not want to do at a time when labor was scarce on the prairies. Also, unlike the Asians, the Slavs were generally not regarded as biologically or culturally incapable of assimilation. They might be inferior, but most opinion leaders believed they could be assimilated.

The two Slavic groups which were most often singled out for hostility were the Ukrainians and the Doukhobors. The Ukrainians were the most conspicuous and numerous eastern European group to arrive in western Canada after 1896. Through the promotion of Dr. Josef Oleskow, a wealthy Ukrainian intellectual, and various steamship companies, about 170,000 Ukrainian peasants, craving land of their own, came to Canada between 1896 and 1914. They settled primarily in blocs in the parkland areas of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. A number of these immigrants also remained in urban centers, particularly Winnipeg, where because of lack of skills they were forced to take the lowest paying jobs.

At the time they arrived, the Ukrainians were referred to as "Galicians" since a majority came from the province of Austria-Hungary known as Galicia. But the term "Galician" acquired more general connotations and was often used by the press and public as a general category, synonymous with "foreigner," to refer to all immigrants from central and eastern Europe. The Ukrainians were a minority of the central and eastern European immigrants who came to Canada, but they were by far the largest, the most highly concentrated, and the most highly organized of any central or eastern European group. Although other groups were singled out for special attention in areas where

they were most highly concentrated, it was the question of Ukrainians which most absorbed those who were concerned with the new immigration from central and eastern Europe which would, by 1921, comprise approximately 18 per cent of the population of Manitoba and Saskatchewan and 14 per cent of the population of Alberta.

Initial public reaction on the prairies to the arrival of the Ukrainians was generally negative.[22] While dislike of the Galicians' cultural characteristics caused some prejudice, ethnocentrism was not the only cause for the opposition to the newcomers which developed. The poverty of the immigrants upon their arrival aroused concern that they would become dependent on charity, and reports of smallpox among the immigrants brought the threat of "Galician" immigration to an intensely personal level. The bloc settlement of the Ukrainians caused further anxiety. As the *Winnipeg Telegram* argued:

> The Government is making a great mistake in establishing these exclusively foreign colonies. The proper policy is to mix the foreigners up with the rest of the population as much as possible. It is only in that way that they will be assimilated. The colony system tends to perpetuate their own language and peculiar customs. It prevents their observation of improved methods of cultivation, and keeps them out of touch with British institutions and ideas. The massing of foreigners in colonies in this fashion constitutes, also, a serious political danger. Their votes are far more easily manipulated by government officials under such circumstances than they would otherwise be . . . [23]

While immigration officials saw the bloc settlement pattern as a way of attracting immigrants to western Canada, as a means of keeping them there, and as a convenient method of confining them to facilitate both close supervision and assistance,[24] other western Canadians feared

that the bloc settlement pattern would postpone assimilation indefinitely. Continued opposition to Galician immigration also sprang from Anglo-Saxon nativist fears that illiterate immigrants would lower the cultural level of the whole country and undermine "British" governmental institutions, since the immigrations had no experience with self government.

Continued opposition to the "Galicians" also became a partisan issue. The Conservative press and Conservative politicians, who were strongly convinced of the importance of preserving British institutions and were also anxiously seeking a campaign issue, expressed the most intense anti central and eastern European sentiment and began a campaign for immigration restriction. A flood of editorials in Conservative papers in the prairie provinces condemned the Galicians as dirty, poor, sickly, rebellious and immoral.[25] The Calgary *Herald* wanted to know why Sifton was handing the northwest over to "dirty hordes of half-civilized Galicians who came lacking everything but dirt."[26] One *Herald* editorial thundered:

> What is this country coming to? Doukhobors pouring in by the thousands on the eastern slope, Galicians swarming over the central portions, and rats taking possession of Dawson City, one would imagine that Canada had become a veritable dumping ground for the refuse of civilization![27]

Once the immigrants could vote, Conservatives in Alberta and Saskatchewan were further disturbed by their overwhelmingly Liberal vote. In the minds of some Conservatives, this proved the immigrants' undesirability.[28] Conservative newspapers in Alberta and Saskatchewan continually charged that there was a corrupt alliance between Liberal politicians and eastern European immigrants, and across the prairies

began pressing for tighter naturalization laws to make it more difficult for immigrants to vote, thus limiting their political power.[29]

The arrival to Canada in 1899 of 7000 Russian peasants who belonged to a non-conformist Russian pacifist sect known as the Doukhobors further aroused the anxieties of many prairie WASPs who were already outraged by Galician immigration. Although there were a number of Canadian intellectuals who looked sympathetically on the Doukhobor experiment, and the eastern press, immigration agents and the police welcomed the Doukhobors as desirable settlers, public opinion towards them in western Canada was not friendly. The same arguments used in the campaign against Galician immigration were refurbished by the Conservative press and politicians for the assault on the Doukhobors. Their "strangeness" heightened indignation aroused by their arrival without money, and their settlement in blocs in Saskatchewan increased fears that they would not be assimilated. Once the Doukhobors were settled, opposition increased as friction developed between them and the government over land tenure, marriage regulation, vital statistics records, and education, and as the erratic behavior of the Sons of Freedom sect received sensational publicity.[31] Conservative newspapers used the Doukhobors as the prime example of undesirability in their attack on the Liberals' immigration policy. In the 1900 federal election campaign in Alberta, Conservative supporters heckled Liberal speakers by chanting the word "Doukhobor."[32]

III

The central and eastern Europeans arrived at a time when the western Canadian frontier was being swept by social movements which were determined to shape western Canada into a new and cohesive society;

some were hoping for a replica of Ontario, others for a new and even better society. Three of the major social reform movements--the social gospel, prohibitionism, and feminism-- found particular reason to be concerned about the threat these new Slavic immigrants posed to the type of society which they envisioned. To the middle-class WASP reformers who led each of these movements, the new immigrants, particularly those in urban areas, possessed an array of moral and social defects. In more specific terms, the new immigrants were not Protestants, and they were not only unsympathetic to either prohibition or feminism, but were seen as among the principle offenders in the abuse of both alcohol and women. Middle-class WASP feminist leaders found it particularly galling that immigrant men could vote while they could not.

In western Canadian cities, immigrant neighborhoods were generally seen as synonymous with urban slums and the immigrants seemed more prone to crime, violence, prostitution, family breakdown, and political corruption than the rest of the population. Some reformers saw these problems as social ones resulting from poverty and illiteracy which could be corrected through education and assimilation programs; a few believed they were biologically determined, and pressed for tighter immigration laws. Whatever their solutions, the reformers were united in viewing the central and eastern European immigrant as a threat to the type of society they wanted to create.

Although the social gospel, prohibitionism and feminism all had their origins in social conditions and intellectual currents which had little to do with the issue of immigration, there can be little doubt that the

immigration question in western Canada helped give strong impetus to each of these movements. Each movement found itself confronted with an immigration-related problem which posed a threat to its basic middle-class "WASP" assumptions. That immigration would be a major concern of each reform movement is hardly surprising when one considers both the degree to which the reform movements were interrelated, and the fact that each movement was led almost exclusively by middle-class white Anglo-Saxon Protestants--male or female. Quite simply, the immigrant did not fit the middle-class WASP mold.

The prohibition movement in western Canada focused on central and eastern European immigrants as a major stumbling bloc to their goals.[33] In 1910 the President of the combined Alberta and Saskatchewan WCTU lamented:

> One of the major problems we must face in our Western Provinces is that of our foreign population. These people are coming to us in vast numbers and are bringing with them, not only their European drinking customs but their low ideal of morals of citizenship.[34]

According to the prohibitionists, the drinking habits of the immigrants were not only undesirable because of their relationship to crime, violence, family breakdown, and every other social problem, but also because their taste for alcohol made the immigrants more vulnerable to election bribery. Prohibitionists in all three prairie provinces perceived a tightly knit web of corruption involving immigrants, liquor dealers and politicians.[35] The tie between Slavic immigrants, crime, liquor and political corruption was one of the major themes in the widely read novel, *The Foreigner*, which was written by the Winnipeg

minister, Charles Gordon (Ralph Connor), who played a prominent role in the porhibition movement in Manitoba. Godon's prohibitionist sympathies were certainly more evident than either his literary skills or his empathy for other groups of people when one reads his description of a "Galician" wedding.

> Meantime, while respectable Winnipeg lay snugly asleep under snow covered roofs and smoking chimneys . . . in the north end and in the foreign colony the festivities in connection with Anka's wedding were drawing to a close in sordid drunken dance and song and in sanguinary fighting . . . foul and fetid men stood packed close, drinking while they could. It was for the foreigner a rare opportunity. [36]

The stereotype of the immigrant as drunkard was so firmly implanted in the public imagination that, in the early 1920s, Manitoba school children learned to spell by writing, "The foreigner is very often addicted to alcohol." [37]

Since the feminist and prohibition movements were so closely tied together, it is hardly surprising that anti-immigrant sentiment was also closely tied to the struggle for women's rights. One of the reasons women believed that they needed the vote was to help offset the detrimental effect which immigrants were having on prairie society. Women's groups pushing for the vote argued that certainly they deserved the vote if "ignorant foreigners" had it. Some Women's groups even suggested that it was more important that the franchise be restricted among immigrant men than that women receive the vote. [38]

Not only the WCTU, but the other major women's organizations in prairie cities--the Women's Canadian Clubs and Local Councils of Women--concerned themselves with the question of the "menace" of the immigrant. They were concerned not only with what they considered the inferior moral standards of immigrants, but also with the low status of immigrant women and the question of "child marriages." Women's organizations repeatedly asked the prairie provincial governments to bring an end to arranged child marriage among the "Galicians."[39] As a solution to the question of the alien "menace," women's organizations advocated not only restricting the franchise of uneducated immigrant men and extending it to WASP women, but also developing programs to facilitate the assimilation of immigrants.

The social gospel was the underlying ideology which sustained the other social reform movements on the prairies. Many of the prohibitionists and advocates of women's rights had been deeply influenced by the social gospel, which attempted to imbue Protestantism with a concern for the salvation of society as well as for the salvation of the individual soul. As they set about their goal of attempting to build a truly Christian society on the prairies, social gospel clergymen saw the immigrant as one of the main stumbling blocks to Utopia. Because of the social problems which were associated with immigrant ghettos, the new immigrants were seen as a glaring example of the need for social uplift. Some immigrants, such as the Asians and the Jews, were not Christians and, in the eyes of many social gospellers, if they were to become good Canadians they would also have to become Protestant Christians. One of the Protestant missionary characters in

in Connor's novel *The Foreigner* declared his intention of helping the Galicians: "I can teach them English, and then I am going to doctor them and if they'll let me, teach them some of the elements of domestic science; in short, do anything to make them good Christians and good Canadians, which is the same thing."[40]

The Slavs were at least Christian, but they belonged to either Orthodox or Catholic churches which were regarded by Protestant clergymen as backward and authoritarian. One Protestant missionary in Alberta, C. H. Lawford, expressed the hope that Protestantism would "liberate" Ukrainian immigrants from the "slavery" of the Catholic and Orthodox churches.[41] But proselyting to Protestantism was generally seen as secondary to the task of assimilating the immigrants to the standards of Canada's English-speaking majority--the standards of "Anglo-Saxon civilization." The immigrants needed to be made over in the image of middle-class white Anglo-Saxon Protestants.[42] Assimilation would both alleviate the serious social problems facing the immigrants and prevent the deterioration of "Canadian" or "British" institutions, which were regarded as synonymous.

In the early 1900s, the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists established "home missions" among eastern Europeans on the prairies, which combined "Canadianization" with Protestantism. The motivation behind the missions was a combination of humanitarianism and nativism. Sympathy for the immigrant was combined with a fear of what might happen to the society if the immigrant were not assimilated. The missions achieved little in the way of actual numbers of converts. But the amount of energy and money

which the churches poured into these missions, and the degree to which immigration became an important topic at church synods and in church periodicals, reflects the great anxiety which the major Protestant denominations felt concerning the issues.

The most articulate and prolific social gospeller writing on the immigration question was J. S. Woodsworth, the Methodist director of the All People's Mission in Winnipeg. Woodsworth directed assimilation programs at the mission and wrote and lectured on the "immigration question" to arouse Canada's awareness of the need to assimilate immigrants. Woodsworth, like other social gospellers, believed that social problems such as insanity, intemperance, illiteracy, crime, unsanitary conditions and overcrowding found among the immigrants were the result primarily of social conditions rather than of individual depravity. These problems could only be solved by changing social conditions.

Woodsworth's book, *Strangers Within Our Gates*, was the most important and widely read book on immigration to appear in Canada prior to World War I. In the book he denounced indifference towards the immigrants and urged the adoption of programs to improve their living and working conditions and educational level, thus preventing social stratification, social disintegration, and political corruption. Unlike some writers, Woodsworth observed the relationship between immigrant social problems and generational conflict. Although he believed that some "undesirable" characteristics of various ethnic groups were genetically transmitted, he thought these characteristics could be changed by a better social environment; there was no genetic

problem which prevented assimilation. Woodsworth quoted from the works of Prescott Hall, a leading American immigration restrictionist, but he did not use Hall's eugenic arguments that intermarriage would lead to a degeneration of the nation's racial stock.

By comparing the Canadian situation to that in the United States, Woodsworth emphasized the difficulty and urgency of the "assimilation problem." He calculated the ratio of immigrants to the native American population in the United States and the ratio of immigrants to the native Canadian population; and concluded that Canada's immigration problem was 36 times greater than that of the United States.[43] Although he saw some forces promoting assimilation, such as neighborhood associations, commercial contacts, public schools, the press and intermarriage, Woodsworth lamented the scarcity of Canadianizing agencies.[44] Although he was critical of a number of immigrant groups which he wanted to see excluded, particularly Asians and Mormons, Woodsworth expressed the belief that Canada had something to gain from non-British immigrants. Clearly, however, his concern, like that of other social gospellers, was to limit the impact which the new immigrants would have on Canadian society rather than to stress or facilitate any contribution the immigrants might make to Canada. In short, the solution to the immigration problem was, for Woodsworth, to screen immigrants carefully, to introduce tighter naturalization requirements, and to broaden and intensify assimilation campaigns being carried out by schools, social welfare agencies and unions.[45]

In analyzing the response of the reform movements to the new immigration, one is struck by the degree to which the new immigrants

were a focus of reforming zeal. One is also struck by the degree to which efforts were directed toward limiting and containing the impact that the new immigrants would have on Canadian society. Indeed, it would seem that in a very important sense, these "reform" movements were not concerned primarily with promoting social change; rather, they were very conservative movements desperately trying to preserve older values in a society which was in a state of flux. Thus it is not accidental that Woodsworth's views on the solution to the "immigration problem" were shared by staunch conservatives like R. B. Bennett, who wanted tighter immigration laws, greater efforts at assimilation, and tighter naturalization laws.[46]

It has been argued that the legacy of the reformers with regard to the immigrants is an ambivalent one, and cannot be characterized simply as nativism.[47] That there was concern for the plight of the immigrant cannot be denied. But with all three movements, the "immigrant" was seen in the abstract, as an object of reform, not as a real human being. Some social gospellers like Woodsworth attempted to encourage greater understanding of immigrant groups, but their own writings contained so many negative stereotypes and so much concern about the dangers of the immigrant to Canadian national life that they undoubtedly did more to encourage nativism than tolerance. Marilyn Barber, in a careful study of the relationship between nativism and the social gospel, concludes that in social gospeller's response to immigration, "the gospel of love was subordinate to the gospel of nationalism."[48] John Thompson goes even further in his study of prohibitionists in Manitoba and concludes that the prohibitionists were

rendered helpless by their nativism.[49]

IV

Despite widespread concern among conservatives and reformers about the impact of the new immigrants, as long as Sifton was Minister of the Interior, the Liberals basically ignored demands for tighter controls on immigration because of their continuing belief in the relationship between immigration and economic growth and in the necessity of immigrant labor for the railways. However, once Frank Oliver, Edmonton's M.P., became Minister of the Interior, some concessions were made to nativists in the form of tightened immigration regulations in 1906 and 1910. Oliver, the editor of the *Edmonton Bulletin*, was the most influential federal politician in Alberta prior to 1920. As editor and politician he had consistently opposed Mormon, Chinese, "Galician" and Doukhobor immigration since none of these groups fitted into the picture of the New Ontario which Oliver wanted to see constructed on the prairies.[50] He felt that these groups "who know nothing of free institutions" would "be a drag on our civilization and progress."[51] Given his views, it is not surprising that there was a tightening of regulations with regard to central and eastern European immigrants when he became Minister of the Interior. Nor is it surprising that the conflict over Doukhobor land tenure in Saskatchewan came to a head in 1907 after he became Minister of the Interior. It was at this time that the Federal government decided to enforce the residence and oath requirements of the homestead act, which the Community Doukhobors could not meet due to their belief in communal village living and their

refusal to take oaths. When the government repossessed over half of the Doukhobor land, the majority of Community Doukhobors decided to leave the prairies.[52]

Although Frank Oliver and his supporters definitely wished it otherwise, the Sifton immigration boom had made the multicultural composition of western Canada a *fait accompli*; immigration restriction could only prevent further aggravation of the "problem," and tighter naturalization laws would only postpone the immigrants' impact on society. As a result, the question of immigrant assimilation became the most important of the three standard remedies proposed to the immigration "problem." With the onset of World War I, restricting the immigrants' franchise and cutting off immigration would finally become a reality at the national level, but in the prevailing economic optimism of the pre-war period, concern about the immigrant focused on the question of assimilation.

When one analyzes the reactions of opinion leaders in western Canada to the new immigrants, it soon becomes apparent that they shared a common set of assumptions about the role that non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants should play in prairie society. Virtually all subscribed to the tenets of anglo-conformity, or the belief that it was the obligation of newcomers to conform to the already fixed values and institutions of Canadian society. As has been pointed out, groups were judged to a considerable degree on the basis of how quickly they could be assimilated, and those immigrants who were not yet assimilated became the objects of an intensive "Canadianization" campaign. Even those who rose to the immigrants' defence argued almost entirely from

economic grounds: immigration from non-British sources was needed to aid in economic development, not because it might add anything to Canada's social or cultural life. Defenders of the new immigrants, such as Clifford Sifton, also believed that assimilation to an Anglo-Saxon norm was a desirable goal,[53] but they were optimistic that assimilation was eventually possible.

The focal point for the assimilationist sentiment of Protestant clergymen, patriotic organizations, women's organizations, politicians--indeed everyone concerned with the immigration question--was the school system. These groups saw assimilation through education as the eventual answer to all the social problems of the immigrants and as necessary for both social integration and the preservation of a democracy which presupposed a literate electorate.

Provincial governments were faced with the problems of promoting assimilation more directly than the federal government since the provinces maintained jurisdiction over education. The entire question of the varying attitudes of provincial authorities toward assimilation is too complex to fully outline in this article; but with the exception of Manitoba's bilingual school system, between 1896 and 1916 Anglo-conformity was certainly the predominant aim of the school systems. The values which were to be inculcated by the schools were those of British-Canadian nationalism, individualism, and the Protestant work ethic.[54] Each province had its own policy concerning the languages of immigrant groups, which reflected a slightly different approach to the question of assimilation of newcomers. Manitoba had the most generous policy because of the provision for

bilingual schools in the Laurier Greenway compromise. This compromise had been arrived at before the massive influx of central and eastern European immigrants, and very few people had anticipated that groups other than the French would take advantage of the provision for bilingual schools. However, German, Ukrainian and Polish bilingual schools were soon established, and the provincial government was compelled to set up training schools for non-English teachers. Premier Roblin's Conservative government had seen the necessity of making some accommodation with ethnic voters when they came to power, and had defended bilingual schools. But the bilingual schools came under increasing attack from many Anglo-Saxon opinion leaders who believed that they prevented assimilation to an Anglo-Saxon norm.

John W. Dafoe, the influential editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, led the attack on the bilingual schools. Between 1910 and 1914, his paper carried over 100 editorials on the question.[55] He was joined by many other influential Winnipegers, including J. S. Woodsworth, in demanding an end to bilingual schools and the introduction of compulsory school laws.[56] Dafoe clearly expressed the view that immigrants would have to be Canadianized as quickly as possible: "We must Canadianize this generation of foreign-born settlers, or this will cease to be a Canadian country in any real sense of the term."[57] However, despite this protest against bilingual schools from influential Winnipegers, patriotic groups and the provincial Liberal party, it was not until the super-nationalism of wartime that changes were made in the school laws.

In Saskatchewan, provision was made for instruction in languages other than English or French between three and four in the afternoon. The Liberal government, which dominated provincial politics from 1905 onward, attempted to attract support among European immigrants by defending the immigrants' right to these classes in the face of criticism from patriotic groups. But teacher training for these classes was sporadic and the politicians' rationale for the classes was that they were a way to get the children of immigrants into the school and thus facilitate assimilation.[58] Although it was possible in Alberta to teach languages other than English or French after school hours, the government made no provision to train teachers to do this. In 1913 the Alberta Department of Education had a major confrontation with Ukrainian teachers and parents when the Alberta government prevented qualified out-of-province teachers of Ukrainian background from teaching in Ukrainian district schools at a time when there were no qualified Ukrainian teachers in Alberta.[59] Alberta's Minister of Education took a firm stand in the case, arguing that he wanted no repeat of the Manitoba experience: "This is an English-speaking province . . . and every Alberta boy and girl should receive a sound English education."[60] As in Manitoba, the outbreak of World War I saw the minimal provisions which existed with regard to languages other than English and French come under increasing attack in both Saskatchewan and Alberta.

V

Although the growing integration and prosperity of Slavs, and the departure of many Doukhobors from Saskatchewan had helped bring about a decrease in anti-immigrant sentiment on the prairies, the outbreak of World War I brought out the most strenuous nationalism and the most pervasive anti-foreign sentiment in western Canada's history. Wartime propaganda played up the image of Germans as barbarous "Huns," and the frustration, deprivation, bitterness and personal losses which the wartime experience engendered found a convenient scapegoat in the "enemy alien." The Germans, who formerly had been counted among western Canada's most desirable citizens, now became the most undesirable. Immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian empire, including Austrians, Croats, Poles Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and Ukrainians, also found themselves under considerable suspicion despite the fact that few had any loyalty to the empire. "Enemy Aliens," as all immigrants from enemy countries were called, became the objects of persecution and hostility, and the fires of Anglo-conformity were stoked to demand unswerving loyalty and an end to "hyphenated Canadianism."

The "enemy alien" faced a whole barrage of restrictions. Across western Canada, many German, Austrian, Ukrainian and other eastern European workers were dismissed from their jobs, their language schools were closed, their newspapers were gradually suppressed, imported newspapers were banned, and a total of 8,579 immigrants was placed in internment camps.[61] It was little consolation for immigrants who were interned that their internment was often not due to suspect loyalty, but because relief authorities in cities where immigrant unemployment was highest wanted to unload part of their case load[62] The majority of immigrants from "enemy" countries, particularly those on farms, were not interned but were required to register and report monthly to the police.

Although many of those who had been interned earlier were released in 1916 in order to help fill the manpower shortage which developed during the war, pressure built up at the end of the war from veterans' groups and patriotic organizations to again have "enemy aliens" dismissed from their jobs to make way for returning veterans. At various times during the war, the premises of German clubs and German-owned businesses in prairie cities were attacked by rioting soldiers and civilians.[63]

Thus, for many western Canadians during the war, loyalty and cultural and linguistic uniformity were synonymous. Both the Federal and provincial governments enacted measures to ensure uniformity. When the Liberal government came to power in Manitoba in 1916, one of its first measures was to abolish bilingual schools and to introduce compulsory school attendance--two election promises which had certainly played some role in their election victory. Similarly, in 1918, the Saskatchewan government abolished the provision which allowed for the teaching of languages other than English or French in the schools.[64] At the Federal level, the formation of the Union Party of Conservatives and Liberals during the war can be seen in part as an attempt to create an Anglo-Saxon party, dedicated to "un-hyphenated Canadianism" and the trampling on the rights of immigrants through press censorship and the imposition of the War Time Elections Act which disfranchised "enemy aliens" who were born in an enemy country or whose mother tongue was the language of an enemy country.[65] Although some provincial Liberal politicians in Alberta and Saskatchewan felt that the disfranchisement was unfair and discriminatory, the measure had been insistently demanded not only by Conservative newspapers and politicians, but also by an array of patriotic and women's organizations.[66]

All of these measures reflected a growing anxiety about the loyalty and assimilability of new immigrant groups. This concern was not, however, simply limited to immigrants from "enemy" countries, but also included three pacifist religious sects--the Doukhobors, the Mennonites and the Hutterites--each of which had come to Canada under specific guarantees from the Federal government that they would be able to maintain their autonomy and religious freedom.

Although the Mennonites had been welcomed when they arrived as pioneers in Manitoba during the 1870s, the question of provision of public schools in Mennonite areas had been a constant irritant between the Mennonites and the Manitoba government. The Mennonites believed that the agreement which they had arrived at with the Federal government in 1874 guaranteed them the right to educate their own children. Mennonites who sent their children to public schools were distressed by the flag flying policy which the Roblin government introduced in 1907 as well as by the termination of the bilingual German-English schools and the introduction of compulsory school attendance. But tensions reached greater heights in 1918 when Mennonite private schools were condemned as inadequate and attempts were made to enforce compulsory attendance at public schools. [67]

The Doukhobors had attracted even more attention and hostility. Like the Mennonites, they were culturally separate, pacifistic and resisted compulsory public schooling; but they also had a number of other beliefs which brought them into continuing conflict with public officials and the police. In addition to the earlier controversies, the war also raised the question of military exemption, and many

western Canadians felt that the military exemption of pacifist groups was allowing them to prosper while other Canadians were making the ultimate sacrifice in the war effort.

With resentment toward Germans, "enemy aliens" and pacifists at peak levels, the arrival in October, 1918, of a group of Hutterites was most untimely. The Hutterites came to Canada from South Dakota to escape wartime persecution in the United States; they came with the assurance of immigration officials that the privileges which had been extended to them by Order in Council in 1899 (giving them military exemption, the right to their own schools, and permission to live communally) were still intact. Two Hutterite groups, the Dariusleut and the Lehreleut, moved to Alberta, while the Schmiedeleut settled in Manitoba. By the end of 1918, there were six Dariusleut and four Lehreleut colonies in Alberta and Schmiedeleut in Manitoba with approximately one hundred Hutterites in each colony.[68] Opposition to the Hutterites from newspapers, patriotic organizations, politicians, temperance groups and church groups was immediate.[69] The Hutterites had everything against them. They were German-speaking, pacifistic, and they were determined to maintain their way of life through segregated communal living. Some demanded that the Hutterites be sent back to the United States, while others argued that their consent to conscription should be the condition of their being allowed to remain.

By 1919, these three groups-- Mennonites, Doukhobors, and Hutterites--despite significant religious and cultural differences among them, were locked together in the public mind as being undesirable and unassimilable. Agitation across western Canada against them

finally resulted in the passage of an Order in Council in 1919 which specifically barred their entry into the country. The government's justification for this action summarized the objections which were being made to these groups:

> Owing to conditions prevailing as a result of war, a widespread feeling exists throughout Canada . . . that steps should be taken to prohibit the landing in Canada of immigrants deemed undesirable owing to their particular customs, habits, modes of living, and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated . . .[70]

VI

The return of the veterans at the end of the war not only led to a peak in the hostility towards the three pacifist sects in late 1918 and early 1919 but also to the full flowering of a relatively new and virulent form of anti-immigrant sentiment--anti-radical nativism. The image of the Slavic immigrant as being prey to political corruption had been one of the early stereotypes which had developed and had, on occasion, given way to an image of the immigrant as dangerous revolutionary, particularly in the coal fields of Alberta between 1906 and 1907 during a period of pronounced labor conflict and unrest.[71] During the war, radical activity on the part of organized labor was often seen as being connected with pro-German feeling because radicals led the opposition to the war in western Canada.

The anti-radical sentiment which developed in 1918 and 1919 during a period of profound labor unrest tended to assume a nationalistic form because such a large proportion of radicals were immigrants. Some immigrants brought ideas of class consciousness with them from

Europe, and the majority of workers in the extractive industries where radicalism flourished were immigrants. Discrimination, wartime regimentation and repression, inflation and hazardous working conditions combined to produce a situation where central European immigrants were attracted to radical organizations. Many leftist unions offered the hope of a more equitable distribution of wealth to immigrants who were faced with the problem of job scarcity and insecurity, and an immense rise in the cost of living. Participation in leftist activities also provided a status network for immigrants long accustomed to social and political discrimination. Thus it is not surprising that in mining camps and cities across western Canada, Slavic immigrants formed a large proportion of leftist union membership (though not the leadership) and leftist groups were formed in western Canada among Russians, Poles, Finns, Jews, Lithuanians and Ukrainians.

With the growing connection in the public mind between immigrants and radical activity, a number of Canadians began to wonder what right "foreigners" had to disrupt the harmony of national life, and reasoned that class conflict was an alien and imported phenomenon unnecessary in Canada where there was ample opportunity for all. Near the end of the war, government leaders worried about the increased support for radical organizations, particularly for the Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union. Consequently, in 1918 Prime Minister Borden appointed C. H. Cahan, a Montreal lawyer, to the position of Director of Public Safety to investigate radical organizations. On the strength of his recommendations, the government passed two orders in council which banned several left-wing organizations,

including a number with ethnic affiliations,[72] suppressed a number of ethnic newspapers, and outlawed all meetings conducted in enemy or "bolshevik" alien languages.

The connection between immigrants and radicalism was cemented in the public's mind by events before and during the Winnipeg General Strike, which had considerable support among Slavic immigrant laborers in Winnipeg. A series of strikes in Winnipeg in 1918 eventually culminated in riots against non-British immigrants, who were blamed with fomenting radicalism, and creating unemployment. Veterans forced immigrants on downtown streets to kneel and kiss the Union Jack, and demanded that "alien" property be confiscated. The social unrest and revolutionary propaganda which accompanied the June, 1919, strike in Winnipeg aroused fears among some government leaders that Canada was on the verge of revolution. In Winnipeg and other western centers, strike opponents repeatedly attempted to discredit it by alleging that it was the work of alien revolutionaries.[73] The business-dominated Citizens Committee of One Thousand admonished the "decent" citizenry of Winnipeg to "choose between the soldiers who protected you and the aliens who threaten you!" and the Winnipeg newspapers demanded that immigrant radicals be deported.[74]

Although the focal point of anti-alien sentiment was in Winnipeg, there were also clashes between veterans and immigrants in other prairie centers, including Drumheller, Calgary and Medicine Hat.[75] Veterans' organizations across western Canada bombarded the government with resolutions demanding that all property of enemy aliens be confiscated and that immigrant radicals be arrested or deported. They also pressured

employers and governments to replace immigrant workers with veterans.[76] Major Stafford of the Alberta Great War Veterans Association put the issue simply. "There is no room in Canada for the enemy alien and the Great War Veterans Association. One of them has got to go and that one will not be the returned soldier."[77] The federal government responded to this vast outpouring of venom with new laws which prevented the entry of immigrant radicals, as well as making possible the deportation of immigrant radicals in Canada. The "Red Scare" of 1919 brought to a culmination all of the fears and anxieties which had developed concerning central and eastern European immigrants.

VII

The period from 1896 to 1920 had witnessed a gradual shift in the form and intensity of anti-immigrant sentiment. Although opinion was divided on the desirability of central and eastern European immigrants, the assumptions about the link between immigrant and economic growth enabled the Federal government, for the most part, to ignore nativist rumblings. The Federal government made some concessions to nativists in the form of tightened immigration regulations; but prairie provincial governments were too anxious to court immigrant voters to bend completely to the demands of patriotic organizations and reformers.

World War I precipitated important shifts in public opinion toward immigrants. The old notions about Anglo-Saxon superiority and about the threat posed by immigrants to Anglo-Saxon instituions were, in the climate of war, enacted into public policy. It was felt that immigrants from enemy countries could not be trusted; they had to be

controlled and their franchise restricted. The optimistic assumption that assimilation would simply occur in the course of time was increasingly questioned. [78] Assimilation would now have to be enforced through the school system. Groups previously encouraged to come to Canada, such as the Hutterites, Doukhobors and Mennonites, were now thought incapable of assimilation--they would have to be excluded. Central and eastern Europeans whose major defects had previously seemed to be their lack of education and their susceptibility to what were viewed as moral vices by middle class Anglo-Saxons, were now seen more and more as dangerous revolutionaries. By 1919, notions of ethnic, cultural and political acceptability had triumphed over economic considerations in the formation of rational immigration policy.

Underlying all the various coercive and restrictive measures which were enacted during wartime was an anxiety about the need to control the immigrant. Along with internment, registration, censorship, immigration restriction, deportation and forced assimilation one must add prohibition and the enfranchisement of women to the list of wartime measures which attempted to control the immigrant. The reform spirit which the war engendered played a central part in the wartime success in all three prairie provinces of prohibition and votes for women, but prohibition was also another way of controlling the behavior of German and central and eastern European immigrants, and enfranchising women was a way of assuring that the old Protestant middle class virtues could be better protected against the immigrant hordes.[79]

Perhaps one of the reasons for the number of coercive measures which were enacted during the war against immigrant minorities was

simply that the Conservatives were in power federally and dominated the unionist coalition. Conservatives had long standing reservations about the desirability of Slavic immigrants which had been given further impetus by the party's failure to attract their political support. Borden's key prairie advisors like R. B. Bennett had long been advocating more control of the immigrant population, and wartime public opinion coincided with the prejudices of these public officials to facilitate the introduction of restrictions.

The Slavic immigrants and the members of religious minorities who came to the prairies during the Sifton boom did not find themselves in an enviable situation. They had come expecting that, to a considerable degree, they would be able to re-establish their separate cultural and religious lives. Certainly the bloc settlement pattern had facilitated the attempt by Ukrainians, Doukhobors and Mennonites to maintain their distinctive ways of life. But they soon found that, although they had been wooed by the Federal government, this was no guarantee that public opinion or provincial governments would be as tolerant of their lifestyles. Each group found itself in conflict with provincial educational authorities who were determined that they should be assimilated. Both Ukrainians and Doukhobors found that some of their cultural practices and beliefs brought them into conflict with the police.[80]

The experience of wartime revealed how powerless the minorities were in the face of hostile public opinion and a Federal government which distrusted them. Most of the immigrants who had come from the Austro-Hungarian Empire had come fleeing social and economic problems

and had little or no sense of loyalty to the Empire. The vast majority of German-speaking immigrants to Canada came from German-speaking enclaves in eastern Europe or the United States and their loyalties focused on their religious and cultural heritage rather than on the German nation. Neither the Federal government nor the general public had much awareness of these facts, however, and there was no reluctance to trample on their rights.

Although the two largest non-British minorities on the prairies --the Germans and the Ukrainians--had acquired some political allies in the Liberal party in Saskatchewan and Alberta prior to the war, the pressure of public opinion and the alliance of most western Liberals with the Conservatives in the Union Government meant that even most of these friends deserted them. Although the French-Canadian clergy had at first opposed Slavic immigration,[81] encouraging the Federal government to push instead French-Canadian repatriation from the United States, there had been the beginnings of cooperation between the French-Canadian Catholic clergy and the predominantly Slavic groups on the prairies at the turn of the century.[82] But when wartime pressures mounted, French Canadians were too concerned about their own rights to be overly concerned about what heppened to other minorities.

Nor could the Germans and central and eastern Europeans mount any effective protest against their treatment. The German-speaking community in western Canada, though fairly numerous, was geographically dispersed and highly heterogeneous--divided both by area of origin and religion. The group, composed primarily of pioneer farmers, was not highly

politicized and the most educated among them, the German army officers and reservists, were arrested at the outbreak of the war. Although the Ukrainians were more geographically concentrated and more homogenous, they were composed predominantly of poorly educated farmers and laborers who had little political experience. The most highly educated among them--clergy, teachers and newspaper editors--had all been virtually discredited in the eyes of public officials and the press.[83] Besides, protest was interpreted as a sign of disloyalty; for example, Dominion press censorship authorities warned the editors of non-English language newspapers that agitation over the abolition of bilingual schools in Manitoba would lead to the suppression of their papers.[84] The only supporters the Slavs could find were the radical political and labor groups in western Canada. But immigrant support for radicalism simply provided further evidence for many Anglo-Canadians of their undesirability and disloyalty. It was even easier for politicians to trample on the rights of Doukhobors and Mennonites since neither group believed in voting and both groups were sufficiently unpopular that politicians had nothing to lose and much to gain politically by violating earlier guarantees which had been given them.

The assimilation campaign and the drive to restrict Slavic immigration to the prairies were primarily the concern of middle class WASPs. Social reform was not a major preoccupation of the Anglo-Saxon working class in western Canada; indeed they, almost as much as the immigrants, were objects of the concern of prohibitionists, feminists

and educators. Although organized labor did express reservations about an oversupply of cheap labor which might serve to keep wages low, since the destination of most Slavic immigrants was rural and since the western Canadian economy was generally expanding, immigration did not become a major concern of organized labor on the prairies.[85]

It must, however, be noted that hostility toward eastern Europeans and Asians on the prairies was not limited to middle-class opinion leaders. Dislike of "foreigners" among working class people was revealed in the widespread use of opprobrious names like "Bohunks" or "Chinks," and native-born and British workers called themselves "white men" to distinguish themselves from the southern, central and eastern Europeans with whom they worked.[86] The opposition which labor unions expressed to immigration was partly based on concern about economic competition, but was also based on assumptions about the inferiority of "hordes of half civilized people who can live on . . . a crust and an onion," [87] and ethnic prejudice sometimes impeded the work of unionization.[88] Much of the hostility which was expressed toward "alien" workers at the outset of the war came from English-speaking workers, and the anti-German riots of the war years were neither conducted nor condoned by the middle class. The One Big Union might declare in 1919 that "there was no alien but the capitalist," but most veterans' organizations across the prairies were staunchly anti-alien and they certainly had more support among the English-speaking working men than the O.B.U. Also, anti-Asian sentiment, though not as intense or violent on the prairies as in British Columbia, found ample expression among the prairie working class.[89]

Conclusion

The events of the pre-war period and the First World War would leave a legacy of bitterness among many minorities. For some Old Colony Mennonites, the experience confirmed their worst fears about Canada, and they left for Mexico and Paraguay.[90] For some people of German origin, the experience would promote a growing attraction to the new Germany which was being built during the 1920s and 1930s and a support for the Nazi movement on the prairies.[91] Doukhobor resentment against their treatment by federal and provincial governments would fester for decades and help promote Sons of Freedom extremism. Nor can there be much doubt that part of the reason for the increased attraction for Ukrainians of both Ukrainian-Canadian nationalism and Ukrainian-Canadian communism during the 1920s and 1930s was a result of discrimination against the group. Myrna Kostash has written of the wider impact of the war on Ukrainian Canadians: "The fact that, for apparently so little reason, Ukrainians could be persecuted in a country they had been invited to and a country which advertised itself as a haven of democracy undermined their sense of security for decades."[92]

Although overt nativism would decline in the early twenties, most of the basic assumptions which had been established prior to this decade would linger until the Second World War. Fears about the social and biological impact of the predominantly Catholic Slavic immigrants would again surface in the late twenties, when they were given fullest expression in the emergence of Ku Klux Klans across the prairies.[93] Non-Anglo-Saxons would again face discrimination along with massive unemployment during the Great Depression, which in turn would promote

immigrant support for radical political solutions in either communist or fascist movements.[94] Ethnic support for these two movements would give further credence to the notion that non-Anglo-Saxons were politically unstable, and the Depression would see a re-awakening of the anti-radical nativism of the 1918-1919 period. Deporting immigrant radicals would once again be seen as an alternative to assimilation, and the Bennett government, in cooperation with municipal authorities, would not hesitate to use this weapon.[95] The same legacy of bitterness concerning the pacifism and separatism of Hutterites, Mennonites and Doukhobors would again surface during the Second World War.[96]

The use of the War Measures Act and the government's willingness to respond to pressure from nativist groups during the First World War would also set a precedent for the treatment of Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War. The irrational growth of hostility toward the Japanese in British Columbia, the eventual confiscation of their property, their forced relocation to other parts of Canada, and the attempt to deport as many Japanese-Canadians as possible indicated western Canadians' continuing racism, their complete ignorance of a group long established in Canada, and a continuing willingness on the part of the Federal government to respond to public bigotry and violate the civil rights of ethnic minorities who were regarded as second class citizens.[97]

Despite these major examples of continued racism, there were cracks in the ideology of Anglo-Saxon superiority and Anglo-conformity which would eventually lead to a limited acceptance of ethnic minorities. The assumptions of Anglo-conformity would gradually give way in the

inter-war years to the more tolerant "melting pot" view of assimilation which envisioned a biological merging of Anglo-Canadians with immigrants and a blending of their cultures into a new Canadian type. This view, which harmonized with the growth during the twenties of an autonomous Canadian nationalism, emphasized the creation of a Canadian, rather than a British, norm and envisioned the emergence of a new society which would contain "contributions" from the various immigrant groups.[98]

Despite the wartime treatment of the Japanese, the Second World War would also serve as a watershed in terms of attitudes toward immigrants and white minorities in western Canada. Probably the most important factor in explaining the relative tolerance of the post-World War II era was the undermining of the intellectual assumptions and social respectability of Anglo-Saxon racism. This resulted from a variety of factors, including not only the post-war revulsion against Hitler's treatment of the Jews, but also the decline of Great Britain as a world power and the impact of the cultural relativism implicit in modern sociology and anthropology.

This greater acceptance of ethnic minorities was both a cause and a consequence of the striking upward socio-economic mobility and the assimilation of the second and third generation non-Anglo-Saxons. The heightened acceptance of non-Anglo-Saxons was particularly evident in the provincial political arena, where people of non-British and non-French origin occupied a growing proportion of cabinet posts. Indeed some people saw the 1969 election of the Schreyer government in Manitoba as the coming of age of the non-WASPs on the prairies,

since not only Schreyer himself, but a large number of his cabinet ministers were from non-WASP backgrounds.[99]

The contemporary acceptance of white minorities does not change the obvious fact that racism still exists with regard to non-white minorities. The prairies have not been a major destination for the increased numbers of non-white immigrants who have come to Canada in the wake of the liberalization of Canada's immigration laws in the 1960s. Sufficient numbers of non-whites have, however, settled in urban centers to arouse expressions of concern over non-white immigration, particularly the immigration of Chinese students and East Indians. But public opinion and government policy toward minorities have changed considerably since 1920. Each of the prairie provinces now has human rights legislation which outlaws discrimination, and each now has an official policy of multiculturalism which gives ethnic minorities public support to maintain their distinctive cultures and social organizations.

Another important change in government regulations, which reflects a change in attitude, has been a reversal of the language regulations which were implemented during the First World War to discourage the learning of languages other than English or French. During the early 1970s, in both Saskatchewan and Alberta, new department of education regulations were introduced to make it possible for any language to be a language of instruction in the school system if there were sufficient public demand.

Ironically, however, legislation which gave public approval to groups to preserve their language only came about at a time when

the groups which were most concerned with language maintenance--central and eastern Europeans--had been assimilated to the point that there were relatively few people interested in taking advantage of it. In Alberta, only the Ukrainians in Edmonton have taken advantage of the new regulations. Perhaps the assimilators of the pre-1920 period would be pleased with the extent to which a common prairie outlook has developed, even if it is not based on either loyalty to the British Empire or on Protestantism, and even if it took much longer than they had expected. Although aided considerably by technology, economic and social mobility, urbanization, and the mass media, the schools have certainly played a role in bringing about a greater homogeneity and common outlook among prairie people.

The question of ethnic diversity is no longer a major preoccupation of politicians and opinion leaders. Ironically this is not only because being different is now more acceptable; it is also because there is now less cultural diversity on the prairies than in the past. Certainly variety exists and is manifest in many ways from ethnic folk festivals, family traditions, folk crafts and eating habits to less tangible and more personal things such as ethnic identity. But intermarriage rates are increasing and non-official language knowledge is declining rapidly. Whether government attempts to redirect immigration to the prairies, multicultural policies, and changing attitudes toward ethnic diversity will help stem trends toward assimilation remains to be seen.

Table 1

Ethnic Origin of the Population of Western Canada (percentages), 1921

	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta
Total	100.00 (610,118)	100.00 (757,510)	100.00 (588,454)
British	57.53	52.85	59.80
French	6.66	5.56	5.25
Dutch	3.40	2.20	1.61
German	3.19	9.00	6.01
Italian	0.32	0.09	0.68
Jewish	2.73	0.71	0.55
Polish	2.72	1.08	1.22
Russian	2.30	5.99	3.61
Scandinavian	4.37	7.71	7.56
Ukrainian	7.23	3.71	4.05
Other European	6.77	8.66	5.90
Asiatic	0.28	0.44	0.73
Indian and Eskimo	2.27	1.71	2.47
Others and Not Stated	0.23	0.29	0.56

Source: Book IV, Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Footnotes

*Although the term Anglo-Celts is more accurate for the group which I am describing (since it includes peoples of Scots, Welsh, and Irish background), in this essay I have used the term Anglo-Saxon since it had been more widely used, historically and presently.

[1]H. Palmer, "Nativism and Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta 1880-1920" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), chaps. 1, 2; Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal, 1975), chap. 7.

[2]D. J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy: 1896-1905" in H. Palmer (ed.), *The Settlement of the West* (Calgary, 1977), pp. 60-85.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]Mabel Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1896-1910," *C.J.E.P.S.*, 1960, p. 520; J. W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times* (Toronto, 1931), p. 141.

[5]Among the many studies which can be cited in support of this, see: Artibise, *op. cit.*, p. 36; H. L. Malliah, "A Socio-Historical Study of the Legislators of Alberta, 1905-1967 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1970); James Gray, *Booze* (Toronto, 1972), p. 36.

[6]Carl Berger, *Sense of Power* (Toronto, 1970), p. 186.

[7]For further discussion of this point see Marilyn Barber, "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perspective and Canadian Policies (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1975).

[8]Despite the general esteem in which British immigrants were held, approval was not universal. Much of the criticism which did arise related to doubts about the English immigrants' ability to make the physical and cultural sacrifices required by a pioneer society. The technical ignorance and "laziness" of some of the remittance men and urban workers was proverbial. The immigration of unemployed British workers in 1907 and 1908 also aroused hostility from labour organizations on the prairies. See Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 51-58.

[9]Robert Sloan, "The Canadian West: Americanization or Canadianization?" *Alberta Historical Review*, Winter, 1968, pp. 1-7; H. Troper, *Only Farmers Need Apply* (Toronto, 1972); Palmer, "Nativism in Alberta," pp. 58-69.

[10]For expression of views in Frank Oliver's paper, see Edmonton *Bulletin*, June 26, 1906. Under J. A. Calder, an arrangement was made with the Western Railway and Land Company for the promotion of agricultural immigration from the United States. (CAR 1919, p. 589.) For attitudes of other western politicians see Palmer, "Nativism," p. 62.

[11]D. I. Reports, 1900-1914; RNWMP Report, 1907, p. 766.

[12]J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers*, pp. 75-77; Lethbridge *News* Sept. 11, 1908; Lethbridge *Herald*, Nov. 15, 1905.

[13]CAR 1903, p. 395. Adam Shortt, "Some Observations on the Great North-west," *Queen's Quarterly*, p. 194. David Breen, "The Canadian West and the Ranching Frontier, 1875-1922" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972), p. 374.

[14]Speech at the Canadian Club in Montreal, reported in the Lethbridge *Herald*, March 12, 1912. While most Americans were warmly received, some opposition developed to Mormon farmers from the United States who came to southwestern Alberta during the late 1880s and the 1890s. However, the discontinuation of polygamy in 1890 and the contribution that Mormons made to the establishment of irrigation in southern Alberta helped allay hostility toward them. Despite a concerted anti-Mormon crusade in the national and religious press by the major Protestant denominations, by 1900 western newspapers, CPR officials and politicians of both parties, anxious to obtain Mormon political support, defended the Mormons as desirable citizens. Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 76-93.

[15]J.T.M. Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian* (Toronto, 1918), chap. 3; J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers*, pp. 87-101; A. Fitzpatrick, *Handbook for New Canadians* (Toronto, 1919), p. 200; Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 69-76; Artibise, *Winnipeg*, p. 197.

[16]See Table 1, p. 49.

[17]See H. Palmer, "Anti-Oriental Sentiment in Alberta; 1880-1920," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Dec. 1970, pp. 31-58, for further development of these themes.

[18]H. Troper, "The Creek Negroes of Oklahoma and Canadian Immigration, 1909-1911," *Canadian Historical Review*, Sept., 1972, pp. 272-88

[19]Abe Arnold, "Jewish Immigration in the Era of Macdonald and Laurier" (unpublished paper delivered to CHA, Montreal, June, 1972).

[20]Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 34-37.

[21]See Table 1, p. 49.

[22]John Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Bloc Settlement in the Canadian West," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1977, pp. 44-45. Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 97-111; Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy, the Anglo-Canadian Perspective" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973), p. 151.

[23]*Winnipeg Telegram*, Feb. 3, 1899.

[24]Lehr, *op. cit.*

[25]Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 102-103.

[26]Calgary *Herald*, Jan. 19, 1899.

[27]Calgary *Herald*, Feb. 2, 1899.

[28]Palmer, "Nativism," p. 102; David Smith, *Prairie Liberalism*, pp. 57, 59.

[29]Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 178-79.

[30]Carl Betke, "The Mounted Police and the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan, 1899-1909," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 27, #1, Winter 1974, p. 3.

[31]The pioneering achievements of the group were obscured by the eccentric behavior of the Sons of Freedom sect: hitching themselves to wagons to avoid working the animals; handing their money over to local public officials to avoid the contamination of Caesar's property; burning everything made from animal skins and metal; leaving their villages in Saskatchewan in 1902 in search of a "promised land"; parading nude in protest of growing materialism among their brethren; burning machinery to protest against mechanization among other Doukhobors. See G. Woodcock and I. Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors* (Toronto, 1968), chap. 9.

[32]Calgary *Herald*, Oct. 1, 1900

[33]James Gray, *Booze*, pp. 42-43.

[34]Quoted in Barbara Nicholson, "Feminism in the Prairie Provinces" (unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of Calgary, 19), p. 70.

[35]J. H. Thompson, "The Liquor Question in Manitoba, 1892-1926" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969); Tom Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba," in Martin Robin (ed.), *Canadian Provincial Politics* (Scarborough, 1972), p. 75.

[36]Ralph Connor, *The Foreigner, A Tale of Saskatchewan* (Toronto, 1909), p. 87.

[37]Morris Mott, "The Foreign Peril," p. 103.

[38]Nicholson, "Feminism," p. 83.

[39]Calgary *Herald*, Nov. 30, 1905; Nicholson, "Feminism," p. 84.

[40]Connor, *The Foreigner*, p. 253.

[41]C. H. Lawford, quoted in George Emery, "Methodist Missions among the Ukrainians," *Alberta Historical Review*, Vol. 19, #2, Spring, 1971, p. 11.

[42]Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel," in Richard Allen (ed.), *The Social Gospel in Canada* (Ottawa, 1975), pp. 186-226.

[43]J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates* (Winnipeg, 1909), p. 166.

[44]*Ibid.*, chap. 22.

[45]*Ibid.*, chaps. 21-23.

[46]R. B. Bennett, "The Northwest Provinces and Their Relationship to Confederation," *Proceedings of the Canadian Club of Toronto*, 1912, p. 198.

[47]Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel as the Religion of the Agrarian Revolt," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (eds.), *The West and the Nation* (Toronto, 1976), p. 184.

[48]Marilyn Barber, "Introduction" to reprint of *Strangers Within our Gates* (Toronto, 1972), p. xxii and "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel," *op. cit.*

[49]Thompson, *op. cit.* See also R. Maclean, "A Most Effectual Remedy: Temperance and Prohibition in Alberta, 1875-1915" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Calgary, 1969), p. 68.

[50]Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 46, 104-105.

[51]House of Commons, *Debates*, April 12, 1901, c. 2934.

[52]Woodcock, *Doukhobors*, p. 222.

[53]D. J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy," p. 84.

[54]J. E. Rea, "My Main Line is the Kiddies," in W. Isajiw (ed.), *Identities* (Toronto, 1977); Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton, 1977), chap. .

[55]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

[56]See also Artibise, *Winnipeg*, pp. 201-204.

[57]Quoted in Rea, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[58]David Smith, *Prairie Liberalism*, chaps. 2 and 4.

[59]Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 155-56.

[60]Edmonton *Bulletin*, Aug. 20, 1913.

[61]Palmer, "Nativism in Alberta, 1880-1920," chap. 3.; J. A. Boudreau, "Western Canada's Enemy Aliens in World War One," *Alberta Historical Review*, Winter, 1963; Desmond Morton, "W. D. Otter and Internment Operations in World War I," *Canadian Historical Review*, 1974; Donald Avery, "The Immigrant Industrial Worker in Canada, 1896-1930: The Vertical Mosaic as an Historical Reality," in W. Isajiw (ed.), *Identities* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 15-29; W. Entz, "The Suppression of the German Language Press in September, 1918," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 8, #2, 1976, pp. 56-70.

[62]Joseph Boudreau, "Interning Canada's 'Enemy Aliens,' 1914-19," *Canada*, Vol. 2, #1, Sept., 1974, p. 17.

[63]Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 226-28; Morris Mott, "The Foreign Peril: Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970), p. 23.

[64]Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada 1897-1919," *Paedagogica Historica*, International Journal of the History of Education, X.3; 1970, pp. 517-41. The same provision in Alberta did not become a public issue since it was essentially a dead letter; the first Ukrainian teacher did not graduate from Alberta normal school until 1916.

[65]Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy," pp. 374-420. David Smith, *Prairie Liberalism*, pp. 60, 118-21.

[66]Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 244-54.

[67]E. K. Francis, "Mennonite School Problem, 1874-1919," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, July, 1953, pp. 204-37; Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada: The History of a Separate People*, chap. 14.

[68]Victor Peters, *All Things Common* (Minneapolis, 1965), p.

[69]Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 254-50.

[70]Order in Council, P.D. 1204, Canada Gazette, June 14, 1919.

[71]Palmer, "Nativism," pp. 124-25; Don Avery, "Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1900-1920, A Case Study of the Rocky Mountain Coal Mining Industry," forthcoming in *Labour/La Travailleur*.

[72]*Canada Gazette*, Oct-Dec., 1918, pp. 1278-80. These banned groups included the following: Chinese National League, Chinese Labor Association, Russian Social Democratic Party, Russian Social Revolutionists, Russian Revolutionary Group, Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, and Finnish Social Democratic Party.

[73]Donald Avery, "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919," in C. Berger and R. Cook (eds.), *The West and the Nation* (Toronto, 1976), pp. 209-31; Morris Mott, "The Foreign Peril," *op. cit.*

[74]*Manitoba Free Press*, June 5, 1919; Mott, *op. cit.*

[75]*R.N.W.M.P. Reports*, 1919, p. 14.

[76]Palmer, "Nativism in Alberta," p. 271; Avery, "The Immigrant Industrial Worker," p. 23; Smith, *Prairie Liberalism*, p. 125.

[77]*Edmonton Bulletin*, Feb. 7, 1919.

[78]Mott, "Nativism," p. 35; Palmer, "Nativism, pp. 229-31.

[79]Nicholson, "Feminism," p. 187.

[80]Carl Betke, "The Mounted Police and the Doukhobors," *op. cit.*

[81]*Alberta Tribune*, Feb. 4, 1899.

[82]Cornelius Jaenen, "Bilingualism, Multiculturalism and Prairie Schooling" (unpublished paper delivered to Canadian Association for Social Studies, Regina, 1976), p. 9.

[83]At the outset of the war, the pastoral letter issued by the Greek Catholic Bishop Budka in Winnipeg, in which he counselled Ukrainians to return to Austria and fight for the Emperor, had effectively discredited the clergy. Bilingual Ukrainian teachers had been embroiled in controversies concerning the schools which had been established for them in each of the prairie provinces, and both the teachers and the newspaper editors were generally thought to be dangerous proponents of Ukrainian nationalism. Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba* (Toronto, 1953), ; Artibise, *Winnipeg*, p. 203.

[84]Avery, "The Radical Alien," p. 214.

[85]For evidence of labor opposition to immigration at particular periods of time, see Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg*, p. 103; Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics," p. 78.

[86]For detailed evidence of this see Palmer, "Nativism," p. 120.

[87]Quoted in A. R. McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries* (Toronto, 1977), p. 10.

[88]Robert Babcock, *Gompers in Canada* (Toronto, 1974), p. 116.

[89]Palmer, "Nativism," chap. 2.

[90]H. L. Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country: Mennonite Colonization in Mexico* (London, 1971).

[91]J. Wagner, "The Deutscher Bund Canada 1934-9," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 58, #2, June 1977, pp. 17, 6-200; Frank Epp, "An Analysis of Germanism and National Socialism in the Immigrants Newspapers of a Canadian Minority Group, the Mennonites in the 1930's" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1965).

[92]Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton, 1977), pp. 45-46.

[93]Palmer, "Nativism in Alberta, 1925-1930"; *Canadian Association Reports*, 1974; W. E. Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1968).

[94]Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 66-67; Lita Rose Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*, chap. 5.

[95]Palmer, "Nativism and Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta, 1920-1972" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, York University, 1973), chap. 3.

[96]Woodcock and Avakumovic, chap. 13; Palmer, *Land of the Second Chance* (Lethbridge, 1972), pp. 99, 43-44.

[97]Ann Sunahara, "Federal Policy and the Japanese Canadians: 1942-1950" (unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of Calgary, 1977).

[98]Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Multiculturalism as State Policy*, Ottawa, 1976, pp. 90-93.

[99]Donald Swainson, "Ethnic Revolt: Manitoba's Election," *Canadian Forum*, August 1969, pp. 98-99.